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Tyawa, Gugulethu

2017
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UNIVERSITY OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPEIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO

A report study project presented to

The Department of Social Work

School of Human and Community Development

Faculty of Humanities

University of the Witwatersrand

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Bachelor of Social Work

by

Gugulethu Tyawa

December, 2017

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As a first time researcher, the process of conducting a research study was by far the most challenging task in my entire academic career thus far. This process not only forced me to make the library and laptop my newly found best friends, but it broadened my knowledge regarding critical issues that not only affect South Africa, but various countries worldwide.

A huge thank you to my supervisor Ms. Naledi Selebano who was always consistent with her encouragement and was always determined in bringing out the best in me even though at times it proved to be immensely difficult. Thank you for always going out of your way to make time for supervision, as well as never finding strain in giving one-on-one supervision. Thank you for the undying support; but most importantly, thank you for your meticulous and sometimes harsh feedback which was always aimed at unleashing my full capabilities. For this, I will always hold you dear to my heart.

To my family, no words can articulate the utmost gratitude I have for you all. Thank you for all your warrior prayers, thank you for the constant words of encouragement and for never ever failing to remind me that with God's help, I can do all things.

To my friends, where do I even begin: Kaylee Rodrigues, thank you for those library dates, thank you for never finding grief in hearing me whine and complain, but ultimately; thank you for always being there to motivate me when things proved to be tough.

To Siphosenkosi Maila, thank you for the tape recorder that just never ever came, thank you for your terrible listening skills that caused you confusion half of the time, but above and beyond; thank you for always lending an ear when I needed one.

To Siphesihle Msibi, WOW! I really have no words. Thank you, thank you.

Lastly, to the 12 participants, this research report would not have been possible without each of you. Thank you for opening your homes and sharing your experiences with me.

ABSTRACT

Despite the growing literature on fatherhood, the provider role enormously remains a role that defines fathers' masculinity and respective stature in society. However with unemployment on the rise, unemployed fathers are highly disadvantaged when it comes to fulfilling this role due to social construct and cultural influences. This study therefore aims to explore the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood in instances of this reality. Adopting the qualitative research approach, twelve (12) unemployed fathers residing in any township of Soweto were recruited using purposive and snowball sampling technique. Individual interviews were held with each participant and the interviews were recorded, transcribed and analysed using thematic analysis. The main finding drawn from the study was that unemployed fathers felt compelled to provide for their children and families even though they simply did not have the means to do so; eliciting clearly how much weight money has in the execution of fatherhood; therefore obscuring the many other roles unemployed fathers can fulfill.

Key words: Unemployment, father, fatherhood, masculinity, money, navigate

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Unemployment has often made men feel that they are inadequate because of the masculine roles that are often associated with money. Studies reveal that fatherhood in particular; continues to be deeply linked with the provider role even in contexts of high unemployment rates, such as South Africa (Selebano, 2014). What this means in turn, is that unemployed fathers struggle to navigate pathways to being present fathers, especially where the masculine culture celebrates a father that provides financially more than in any other way (Mncayi, 2016).

The unemployment rate in South Africa is currently standing at 27, 7% and is amongst the highest in the world; men's unemployment rate on the other hand accounts for 24, 6% which is also very high (Statistics South Africa, 2016). It is therefore clear that as unemployment continues to thrive in South Africa, more and more unemployed fathers will be impacted negatively as a result of the intact expectations held both by culture and society regarding the economic provider role.

By use of the ecosystems theory and Connell's theory of masculinities, the study explored the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood in contexts where money is inherently associated with fatherhood. The intent of the study is to contribute to existing literature by expanding to what is already known about fatherhood and further exploring different perspectives that unemployed fathers hold regarding their experiences with fatherhood. It is also hoped that the study will contribute towards Social Work knowledge and practice regarding services and facilities suitable for interventions with unemployed fathers.

1.1. Research questions

- How do unemployed fathers define fatherhood?
- What factors influence unemployed fathers' understanding of fatherhood?
- What roles do unemployed fathers play in raising their children?
- How does unemployment affect fathers' involvement in the lives of their children?

1.2. The aim of the study

The main aim of the study is to explore the experiences of unemployed fathers with regard to fatherhood and how they navigate fatherhood in contexts where money and income are deeply linked with notions of fatherhood and manhood.

1.3. The objectives of the study are:

- To investigate unemployed fathers' understanding of fatherhood
- To explore factors that influence unemployed fathers' understanding of fatherhood
- To identify and explore roles carried out by unemployed fathers when raising their children.
- To investigate unemployed fathers' involvement in the lives of their children.

1.4. The report structure

Following this chapter is chapter two, which reflects the literature review. Firstly it looks at fatherhood and the provider role which is encompassed by literature that scholars have established and further presented about fatherhood being reduced only to the economic provider role based on the discourse of the migrant labour system; as well as cultural influences that standardize *inhlawulo* to be gateway to practicing fatherhood. In addition, father involvement and father absence are sub themes that are discussed to paint a picture of how the notion of the provider role has hindered fathers from …

Secondly, the chapter takes into account gender, masculinities and money and how these various aspects have influenced the manner in which fathers fulfill their fatherhood role as a result of the kind of masculine identity that is imparted on them. . Furthermore, this part explores the emphasis put on money and its importance in proving men's worth and the societal pressures placed on men to be able to financially take care of their families. Moreover, this part highlights how traditional masculine practices are alienate those fathers who cannot prove their financial worth due to unemployment.

Thirdly, the chapter highlights the issue of unemployment and men. This part makes evident the great difficulty that men are faced with in terms of securing employment considering the little

opportunities that exist. This part further reflects on how unemployment has come to cause men ill health. Subsequent to this, a correlation is made between unemployed men and crime.

Chapter three addresses the methodology that was employed to conduct the study, which includes one on one in-depth interviews that were conducted with 12 participants. This chapter also makes evident the researchers characteristics throughout the research process; subsequently showing how these characteristics affected the study. Furthermore, this chapter highlights the ethical considerations that were employed and applied in the facilitation of the research process.

Chapter three is then followed by chapter four, which is the findings and discussion chapter. This chapter makes evident the experiences of the twelve (12) fathers regarding their navigation of fatherhood. The chapter highlights the struggles the fathers have come to face as a result of their current employment status which has tested and undermined their sense of manhood in most cases. Furthermore, the chapter makes evident the manner in which fathers have come to make ends meet in order to fulfill their provider role even though they are unemployed.

Lastly, chapter five is the conclusion chapter and it essentially summarises the chapters of the research report. In addition, relevant recommendations are made in the chapter based on the findings, discussions and conclusions drawn by the study.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the literature review and theoretical frameworks that underpin this study. The chapter will provide a critical discussion on fatherhood and components that constitute and influence the concept. The first part of the discussion looks into fatherhood and how it has come to be understood from both global perspectives, as well as from the South African context. This part of the chapter will also look into the various aspects that influence and obstruct men's experiences with fatherhood. The second part will then explore the notion of masculinities and money, in order to reveal the meanings attached to money, and the relationship between men's economic status and their social positioning according to some cultures and societies. The third part of the chapter will zoom into the documented experiences of unemployed men, particularly fathers; revealing mainly that society often expects men to be providers first before anything else. Lastly, the last part will problematise the term 'gender' and the assignment of roles to men and women in different societies.

2.2. Fatherhood

According to Lewis and Lamb (2007), fatherhood is now widely viewed as a diverse set of activities where the influences on men are complex and dynamic. Mkhize (2004) argues that fathers are an important component of a family and have thus been recognised as one of the most significant units of society. In her work, she depicts fatherhood as an identity project that is interlinked with the process of which men come to understand who they are, particularly their sense of identity in society (Mkhize, 2004). Morrell and Richter (2006) on the other hand, understand fatherhood to be the role that men assume to care for their children, or as a human and cultural role. Mkhize (2004) further argues that fatherhood does not occur in isolation, neither does it occur from nothingness, but, it is rather a process that is understood to be strongly influenced by the dominant discourses of what it means to be a man in society. For this reason, it is clear that conceptualising fatherhood sees beyond the biological aspect of being a *father*[1], but

[1]Father refers to the male genetic contributor to the creation of a baby, through sexual intercourse or sperm donation.

rather also includes the socio-cultural and psychological tradition which takes cognisance of the social, political, historical and ideological aspects of identity (Mkhize, 2004).

Scholars (Ratele, 2013; Lewis & Lamb, 2007; Morrell & Richter, 2005) make evident that various communities, societies, cultures and countries have come to understand fatherhood in different ways. For example, much of the Western culture sees the nuclear family as the dominant family pattern, which too is a similar fact for many black cultures. Most sub-Saharan countries however, define family in much broader terms so to include the extended family; as such, children do not only belong to their biological parents but to other family members within the extended family as well, who are expected to play an active role for the well-being of their relatives' children and to be actively involved in their lives. This phenomenon is also prevalent in most black families in South Africa (Lesejane, 2006). This is why Morrell and Richter (2005) argue that an individual does not have to be a biological father in order to accept and execute the fatherhood role to one or more children. As such, Morrell and Richter (2005) distinguish between an economic and a social father. Their definitions imply that economic fathers are men who contribute to the maintenance and upbringing of the child, while 'social fathers' takes account of those men who live with and care for children who are not directly their offspring. This includes men who are in situations of a formal adoption, including same sex couples, step fathers and a member of the extended family who has taken on the role and responsibility of caring for the children as means to assist the parents (Morrell & Richter, 2005). However, for the purpose of this study, the researcher will only be focusing on the experiences of biological fathers.

2.3. Fatherhood and the provider role

In South Africa, the father-provider role dates as far back as colonialism and the migrant labour system, where fathers' involvement with children and family life was disrupted (Helman, 2015; Hoornsta, 2016). Fathers were expected to take on the provider role and send money to their families, whilst mothers took care of the homestead by emotionally supporting the children. This for the longest time became a reality that was internalised, such that even when colonialism has ended, ideas of providing and protecting are still embedded in meanings and experiences associated with fatherhood (Helman, 2015).

Numerous studies have shown that failure by fathers to fulfil the economic provider role often causes tensions between paternal and maternal families of the children, as well as among parents (Morrell & Richter, 2006; Chauke & Khunou, 2014, Selebano, 2012).

In the Zulu culture for example, the inability to pay *inhlawulo*[2] is known to cause relationship breakdowns between families to an extent that the father may be disallowed any contact with the child. This practice is prevalent in other South African Black cultures as well, however, not much is documented about what this practice means for men who cannot afford to pay to legitimise their fatherhood (Mncayi, 2016). Nonetheless, the ability to pay *inhlawulo* suggests that the father is a responsible and dedicated one. While a father that does not pay *inhlawulo* on the other hand, is seen to be fundamentally denying the paternity of his child or depicting signs of an absent father before the child is even born.

This expectation for fathers to become financial providers has consequentially resulted in some of the fathers neglecting non-financial responsibilities due to the financial burden of raising their children (Chauke & Khunou, 2006). Furthermore, scholars argue that although some fathers know and understand that fatherhood is not only restricted to the provider role, they usually experience fatherhood better when they can provide first; due to the pressure of being considered a 'good' father (Helman, 2015; Ives, 2007).

Mavungu, Thompson-de Boor and Mphaka, (2013) emphasise that many fathers' failure to provide both material and financial support is believed to demean masculinity; therefore contributing to why fathers opt to flee from responsibility in order to avoid humiliation. Literature suggests that South African men tend to equate fatherhood with being able to provide financially; while western culture deems emotional support and providing with fatherhood, although this notion is not specific to all western cultures (Mkhize, 2006 as cited by Molongoana, 2015). Dudova (2006) makes evident that similar to most South African fathers in black communities; divorced middle class fathers in Czech Republic also identified providing as a key aspect to their role as fathers. Khunou (2006) however, also found that contrary to many reports in South Africa, not all black men deem financial provision as the ultimate act of fatherhood; however, this was in relation to black middle class men who could provide materially for their children. While the provider role

[2] Inhlawulo refers to damages paid to the family of a woman who became pregnant out of wedlock by the father of the future child.

remains at the centre and core to some families and men, a survey by the Pew Research Centre found that Americans expect fathers to be more of a moral teacher and emotional comforter, rather than a breadwinner and disciplinarian (Pew Research Center, 2013). In the study, it was recorded that providing values and morals was regarded as extremely important and ranked first with the percentage of 58%, whilst income ranked the lowest at 41%, emotional support came to 52% and discipline 47 % (Pew Research Center, 2013).

In light of the above, it is imperative to note that societal structures, such as media, schools and churches perpetuate the understanding of fatherhood in a hegemonic manner, therefore alluding to men as only providers (Khunou, 2006). In addition, this not only creates great setback in understanding fathers and their fatherhood roles; but it also greatly influences and exacerbates negative social constructs around men who are unable to provide financially for their children due to unemployment, poor economic systems and other external factors.

Father Involvement

According to Crowell & Leeper (1994) the ability to provide financial support plays an important and large role in the level of fathers' interaction with their children. McAdoo (1993b in Crowell & Leeper, 1994) found that fathers who could economically provide and support their families were afforded a better platform to interact and fulfill an active role in the rearing process of the child's life, thus alluding to the fact that unemployed fathers stand a less chance of being afforded the very opportunity/responsibility, therefore, this reality having a negative impact on their involvement. Similarly, Khunou (2006) makes it evident that a father who is unable to economically provide is greatly marginalised, to such an extent that his parenting status and powers are relinquished, more especially in contexts where many women are unable to access maintenance. In South Africa, it has been noted that fathers who face challenges with financial provision for their children are often haphazardly shamed and criminalized both by media and society at large (Khunou & Chauke, 2006). This is because society assumes that the standard of being a father is equivalent to mainly and only the provider role, therefore failure to do so suggest that one has failed to be a man (Khunou & Chauke, 2006). This notion is also reinforced by most African families whereby men who have impregnated women out of wedlock are expected to pay *inhlawulo* or damages so to prove and redeem their manhood. Failure to do this often results in denying fathers access to seeing and interacting with the child and thus causing great humiliation.

It is thus clear at this point that men's lack of financial resources may unwittingly result in father absence.

Selebano's study (2014) also found that economic provision and support is a gateway to being an active and involved father, although her study specifically focused on young men in White City Jabavu. in *Teenage Tata* by Swartz and Bhana (2009) researchers found that some participants spoke appreciatively of their fathers who were able to provide financially, however, they expressed discord and disconnect because their fathers were uninvolved emotionally, therefore taking no interest in their lives; thus showing that financial provision is not enough on its own as participants also longed for some form of emotional involvement from their fathers.

Father absence

Similar to father involvement, father absence is seen to be intrinsically linked to fathers' inability to fulfil the economic provider role. As already discussed, fathers who are unable to pay for damages as per their cultural norms are often stopped from having any contact with their children (Bailey, 2013), irrespective of their many and undying efforts of wanting to be involved in other ways in their children's lives. However, father absence is not always linked to the above.

Bailey (2013) argues that father absence is also perpetuated by mothers who are involved in new relationships; therefore access to the child being a mere struggle, as access is not only controlled by the mother of the child, but it is also controlled by the new partner (Corcoran, 2005). Subsequently, when children and fathers live apart, contact between the two is reduced and slowly increases overtime, although this is not to say that non-resident fathers suddenly lose interest in being a part of their children's lives, however, there exist factors (personal, social and legal) that constitute as barriers in the assumption of a more involved fatherly role (Corcoran, 2005).

Khunou & Chuake (2006) account for the fact that the law is also a contributory factor to father absence because it requires fathers to illustrate their role economically, as it focuses vastly on the payment and non-payment of maintenance, and fails to signify their presence and contribution in other ways.

In light of the above, a study conducted by the Sonke Gender Justice elicited various and prominent findings. The study found that fathers who had some emotional contact with their children were

more likely to support their children compared to those fathers who had no contact with their children at all, while some fathers maintained their belief of the provider role being first priority or nothing at all (Mavungu, Thomson-de Boor & Karabo Mphaka, 2013). Furthermore, participants in the study shared reasons that caused them to become absent fathers and these included: unemployment and poverty, predominant constructions of fathers as automatic teller machines which seemed to be a common feeling amongst the fathers, cultural factors such as high costs of *ilobola*[3] and *inhlawulo*[4] in African communities, dysfunctional and conflict ridden relationships and hallenges of moving to new relationships following a divorce or break-up (Mavungu, Thomson-de Boor & Karabo Mphaka, 2013).

2.4. Gender, masculinities and money

The idea of gender was introduced in the early 1970's as a tool to categorise the distinction between biological sex differences, and the way in which those differences act to inform behaviours which are assigned as masculine or feminine (Holmes, 2007). Arguably, gender refers to the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are created in society and different cultures (Unesco, 2003; Holmes, 2007). Seemingly, men and women are believed to fulfil different roles, thus; those who do not fulfil their expected learned roles are seen to be transgressing the normative norm as shaped by culture and constructed by societies (Holmes, 2007, Strier, 2014). The LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender)people for example, are to this day seen by some cultures and societies as those defying the norm of what is accepted; therefore, these individuals experience discrimination, intolerance, harassment and violence due to their diverse sexuality and gender-identity (Subhrajit, 2014).

The concept of gender therefore intrinsically links with my study because men are taught to be independent and are often expected to provide financially for women and children, even when the man and the woman come from similar social and economic circumstances. Often times, as shown throughout this discussion, the inability to fulfill independence for men as ascribed by their gender identity and role causes crisis when there are not enough means to function as breadwinners (Strier, 2014), ultimately demeaning his stature, although this is not necessarily true for all men.

[3]ilobola refers to damages paid to the family of a woman who became pregnant out of wedlock by the father of the future child
[4]inhlawulo refers to damages paid to the family of a woman who became pregnant out of wedlock by the father of the future child.

While different societies and different communities within society define masculinity differently; essentially it remains a term that is used to refer to what it means to be a man (Genrich, 2013). Through social construct, men have since been identified and bestowed with the role of being masculine; a role that is neither biological nor automatic (Richter & Morrell, 2006). For this reason, it is thus recognised that a number of factors come to influence individuals understanding of masculinity; and these factors include: family life, sexual relationships and ways in which men understand and present themselves (Genrich, 2013; Gould, 1991; Ratele, 2013). Based on teachings passed down and observations they begin to make about society at their tender ages. Similarly, Beynon (2002) argues that men are not born with masculinity as part of their genetic makeup; but rather deems masculinities to be something in which men are acculturated to, composing of social codes of behaviour which are reproduced in culturally appropriate ways; influenced by class, ethnicity sub-groups and other various factors.

For men in different contexts however, money has proved to denote success, to such an extent that they have come to being judged according to their pockets; as opposed to their worth as a human beings (Genrich, 2013). Similarly Gould (1991) argues that a man's worth as a human being is too futile for accurate evaluation, as much value and emphasis has been put on his income, as a result of culture and social constructs. Although this has come to benefit some men, this conception of masculinity has caused suffering to those men that do not meet the above criterion (Beynon, 2002).

In most Black African cultures, a man who neither marries nor biologically fathers a child, may be seen as having failed to build a homestead (Elloit, 2003). This is usually influenced by African cultural perspectives which expect men to pay *lobola*[5] before they are in any way recognised and accepted by the women's family (Khunou, 2006; Helman, 2015). Often when men fail to do this, rights of visitation for both women and child are usually restricted; thus perpetuating father absence and lack of father involvement (Enderstein, 2015; Ratele, 2013). For this reason, it is thus clear that culture is intrinsically embedded in the denotation of masculinities in South Africa, especially amongst Black men.

In as much as culture plays a significant role in determining masculinities of most Black men, Genrich (2013) argues that men of all colours in any type of relationship are somewhat expected

[5]Lobola refers to "bride wealth" or "bride price" in cash or cattle, which a prospective husband or head of his family undertakes to give the head of the prospective wife's family in consideration of a customary marriage.

to exercise their masculinity through the use of the provider role (Williams, Paluck & Spencer-Rodgers, 2010). This is often demonstrated by the display and mobilization of prestige spending activities, which set performance hierarchies of manliness (Helman, 2015).Khunou (2006) adds that wealth is associated mostly with men than it is with women, therefore when a woman earns more than the man, she is often seen to be emasculating and challenging a man's masculinity. For this reason, domestic difficulties and violence emerge, which serve as reassertion to masculinity; since masculinity in terms of money has come to be undermined. Smith (2017) on the contrary, assets that Nigerian men place less importance on how much money they have but rather on the amount that they are willing and able to spend on others and that makes them a 'man'.

Similarly, a participant in Selebano's (2014) study held the same beliefs, as he perceived his role as a son and as a brother as intrinsically linked to money.

"So I believe that I should be a fruitful tree where she (mother) has to pick up those fruits together with my siblings. I don't want them to be needy. I want them to tell me tha my brother I saw this and that at the mall and I love it and then I should give them money and not say that I don't have it. I want them to have a stress free life; I don't want them to end up doing wrong things like falling pregnant early and participating in criminal activities. So I believe if they could live a life I wish for them even crime rate will go down. As their elder brother I want to help them even with school affairs they shouldn't hesitate but I believe that they won't do such thing" (Interview, Lerato, 3 August 2017).

2.5. Unemployment and men

As previously mentioned; unemployment in South Africa stands at 27, 7%; a 14 year high and the highest figure since September 2003 (Statistics South Africa, 2017). From all four races: White, Black, Coloured and Indian; 26.2% of men as per the broad definition[6] are unemployed, while 17, 3% of men as per the narrow definition[7] are unemployed (Global Poverty Research Group, 2016).

It is clear that these terrible statistics paint a vivid picture about South Africa and the limited opportunities of attaining and securing employment. According to scholars (Osella & Osella, 2000;

[6] Braod definition of unemployment refers to people who are unemployed and available to work, but have not taken active steps to look for work.
[7] Narrow definition of unemployment refers to people who are unemployed but are actively seeking employment.

Selebano, 2014) South African men suffer a great deal of damage to their sense of identity, masculinity, self-esteem and confidence because of unemployment and poverty. According to Osella and Osella (2000) men in such contexts may ultimately resolve to engaging in criminal activities as a way to provide for their children and families; because "illegal money, is at least better than no money". Furthermore, it is shown that an incline toward precarious work exists among unemployed fathers, although money made from such activities is too little and at often times frowned upon.

A study of social determinants of health among unemployed and seasonally employed African American men deduced that these men were specifically at a great disadvantage when it came to health and diseases; due to the numerous difficult life experiences that they are exposed to; such as reduced access to employment as a result of reduced access to education; whilst quality to their health and mental health services are underserved, contributing immensely to their poor health outcomes (Xanthos, Treadwell & Holden, 2010). Subsequently, in their study, the authors illustrated that African American men reported to have the lowest life expectancy and highest mortality rate among men and women in all other races and ethnic groups in the United States (Xanthos, Treadwell & Holden, 2010).

Similarly, Selebano (2014) also displays studies that prove unemployment to have caused men great ordeal psychologically; this manifesting itself in somatic problems, depression and ultimately mortality. In light of the above, Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld concluded in a 1938 review paper that "unemployment tends to make people more emotionally unstable"; extensively damaging the man; again, alluding to the manifestation of mortality, as a consequence of men not seeking help. These studies thus demonstrate that there exists a causal and effect relationship between unemployment and men's psychosocial wellbeing, due to their inability to provide. Selebano's (2014) study clearly demonstrates that men's inability to provide for their children, women and other relatives has potential to lead to psychosocial instabilities and mental illness.

2.6. Theoretical Framework

Ecological systems theory

The ecological systems theory looks at the development of an individual within the context of relationships between the person and their environment; while placing specific emphasis on

person's socio-political, historical and socioeconomic circumstances in and when analysing their life challenges (Bronfrenbrenner, 1994). For this reason, it is thus assumed that the above listed factors (socio-political, historical and socioeconomic circumstances) inform and influence the individuals interaction with others and society as a whole.

In his work, three separate systems are prevalent (microsystem, exosystem and macrosystem) which are believed to all act both independently and in unison on the individual (Bronfrenbrenner, 1994). The micorsystem refers to the institution and groups that directly impact the individuals development, the exosystem involves the setting to which the individual does not have an active role and the macrosystem refers to the culture in which the individuals live. Furthermore, Bronfrenbrenner (1994) makes evident that an individual is in control over the events that occur in the microsystem, but has zero control over the exosystem and the macrosystem For this reason, it is recognised that changes or conflict in any of the respective enlisted factors within and in the individual's environment; will ultimately impact negatively on the individual's interaction in society (Bronfrenbrenner, 1994). This; therefore, relating intrinsically with the essence of the study, as it will reveal how unemployment has (if at all) affected fathers' interaction with the environment and within the three various systems.

Connell's theory of masculinities

According to Connell (1995), masculinities are not equivalent to men, but are rather the position of men in a gender order. They can be defined as the patterns of practice by which people (predominantlymen) engage that position.

Connell (1995) thus distinguishes four different types of masculinities: hegemonic masculinity, subordinate masculinity, complicit masculinity and marginal masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity is understood to be the dominant form of masculinity in society, and is often used to define the "ideal man" (Connell, 1995). It is theorised that this type of masculinity is known for perpetuating patriarchy at the expense of women. While also accounting greatly for men's poor health seeking behaviours; due to perceptions of being regarded as weak (Breslin & Mustard, 2003).

Subordinate masculinity on the other hand alludes to men that do not live up to societal expectations of what it means to be a "real man"; moreover, this type of masculinity does not live up to the ideal of what makes an ideal man (Connell, 1995). Gay men, therefore fall under this category because of their deviation from the expected norms of a man in both culture and society.

Additionally, complicit masculinity constitutes of those men who accept rewards of hegemonic masculinity without defending the patriarchal system from which they benefit. These men play no part in marginalising women for their own personal reasons and escalation in hierarchy; neither do they stand to exacerbate patriarchy in any way (Connell, 1995).

Lastly, marginal masculinity refers to exploited and oppressed groups, which share the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity, although having no power to act in society (Connell, 1995).

These distinctions as theorised by Connell (1995) therefore reveal that there is no one type of a man, hence alluding to the fact that men navigate their masculinities in different ways as a result of social institutions that determine how they fit into a certain masculinity (Khunou, 2006; Selebano, 2014). Using this theory has the potential to explicate the links between masculine identity and unemployed men's navigation to fatherhood in contexts where financial provision is closely tied to fatherhood.

2.7. Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the various aspects that contribute to fatherhood by discussing them in great detail in order to make evident and clearly reveal how each of the factors influence or obstruct the notion of fatherhood. Furthermore, the chapter has discussed in great detail how unemployment in South Africa, more especially among black men has left at a disadvantage when it comes to exercising the fatherhood role. Moreover, the chapter has also made clear how the pressures exerted by family and culture has driven fathers to appoint of no return, such that these very pressures are sometimes the cause of fathers neglecting their roles and responsibilities.

This chapter has also looked at the theoretical frameworks applicable for the study: Ecological systems theory and Connell's theory of masculinities.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1. Overview

The research study employed the interpretive paradigm. The main focus is on the qualitative data from which the researcher interpreted meanings. Interpretative studies focus on using small numbers of participants as the purpose is not to generalise but to explore the meanings which participants place on the social situation under investigation (Phothongsunan, 2010). Interpretivists avoid rigid structural frameworks such as in positivist research, and adopt more personal and flexible research structures which are receptive to capturing meanings in human interaction and make sense of what is perceived as reality (Carson et al., 2001; Black, 2006).

This paradigm therefore, mirrors accurately the purpose of this study, as it sought to reveal the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood by looking at how they have come to conceptualise fatherhood and whether or not being unemployed affects their role as fathers.

This chapter will discuss the methodology that was employed in the execution of the research study, including the researcher's characteristics and the ethical considerations that were employed in the process of this study.

3.2. Research approach and design

The study employed the qualitative research approach. Qualitative research is characterised by its aims, which relate to understanding aspects of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as data for analysis (Creswell, 2009). It is a means for exploring and understanding meanings individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem or human problem (Creswell, 2009). Subsequently this research approach is argued to be a systematic inquiry into meaning, as researchers attempt to understand and make sense of individuals experiences (Shank, 2002 as cited by Sonia, 2004).

The approach was valuable to this particular study because the researcher wanted to explore the subjective experiences of unemployed fathers, along with the meanings that these specific individuals have ascribed to their experiences with fatherhood.

Furthermore, by employing this approach; the researcher was able to gain a deeper and richer understanding of the participants' lives and behaviours (Monette, Sullivan & Dejong, 2005), while qualifying the researcher with the opportunity to represent the views and perspectives of the participants in the study (Yin, 2011).

In addition to employing the qualitative research approach, the researcher adopted the qualitative case study research design in order to fulfil the aims of the study. This was because case studies allow the researcher the opportunity to explore and understand complex issues through detailed contextual analysis of conditions, therefore producing holistic and in-depth explanations of social and behavioural phenomena in question (Zainal, 2007). Moreover, this approach allows for the exploration of multiple facets of the phenomenon to be revealed and understood (Creswell, 2003).

It is for the above reasons that the approach and design of choice were chosen for this study, they emphasise the importance of presenting the experiences of people; which was a condition that was intrinsically linked to the purpose of this study, as it sought to better understand the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood in contexts where fatherhood is predominantly equated to money.

3.3. Research instrumentation

An interview guide (Appendix E) was used in the facilitation of individual semi-structured interviews with the participants. According to (Wilson, 2009), an interview guide is a list containing questions that have been prepared prior to the interview, to serve as guide for the interviewer/researcher. This research instrument allows the researcher to get more information since follow up questions can also be asked.

Using the interview guide was helpful because it gave direction to the interview process and helped me focus participants when they went off topic. I also got an opportunity to ask probing questions in order to understand what was being said by the participants.

3.3.1. Pretesting

Pre-test interviews were conducted prior to the commencement of the data collection process of the study. Two (2) pre-test interviews were conducted with individuals with the same characteristics as the selected sample for the study.These individuals' responses are not part of the

findings of the study and it was explained to them that their interviews would be used for pre-testing purposes and they had agreed. By definition, pretesting involves simulating the formal data collection process on a small scale to identify problems with the data collection instrument, sessions and methodology as a whole (Hurst, Arulogan & Owolabi, 2015). Pretesting helps detect word ambiguities as well as possible flaws of the instrument (Hurst, Arulogan & Owolabi, 2015).

Considering that these were my very first interviews, I found them to be very challenging as it was difficult to remember the questions on the guide and to ask appropriate follow up questions. Furthermore, the process of pretesting helped me to identify questions in the interview guide that needed to be simplified in order to avoid having to rephrase and paraphrase the questions to participants.

3.4. Method of data collection: Semi structured interviews

Individual semi structured interviews were conducted to collect data for this study and were conducted in the homes of the participants. The use of semi structured interviews is a qualitative method of inquiry that combines a pre-determined set of open questions (questions that prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular themes or responses further. Moreover, it also allows participants to discuss and raise issues that a researcher may have not considered (Doyle, 2017). The duration of the interviews differed across all twelve (12) participants but ranged between twenty minutes (20) and thirty five (35) minutes. Participants whose interviews were over twenty minutes were due to the fact that they were very expressive and didn't shy away from the opportunity of sharing their experiences. Whereas the shorter interviews were as a result of the participants not wanting to share more, even with follow up questions. As a result, in such interviews, I often had to be directive and straight to the point. Using semi structured interviews was helpful because I was able to acquire more information from the participants as I was able to follow up with probes. Semi structured interviews also allowed me to take on a non-directive approach to facilitating the interviews which allowed participants a platform for a discussion as opposed to a straightforward question and answer dialogue.

All twelve (12) interviews were tape-recorded with the permission of the participants. This is because tape recording allows the researcher to concentrate and listen in order to respond better.

Furthermore, tape recording interviews, makes transcribing and coding a much easier process as it enables the researcher to listen and re-listen to the interviews.

3.5. Sampling

A sample size of twelve (12) participants was chosen for this study. The process of selecting a portion of the population to form part of the study is typically known as sampling (Polit & Hungler, 1999). Purposive sampling, which is a non-probability sampling method was utilised to obtain participants. This sampling method was used by the researcher due to the already known characteristics of the target group. The sampling criteria required participants to be unemployed[8] for over a period of one year, be a biological father[9] of at least one child[10] who was alive at the time of the study, be between ages of 18 and 65 and they had to be residents of any township of Soweto

Another sampling technique that was used was the snowball sampling, which too is a non-probability sampling method. This sampling technique was employed because men are generally a hard to reach population. According to Weigel (2014) this population proves to be a hard to reach because male socialization strongly emphasises independence and emotional stoicism, therefore making it hard for men to talk about intimate and private matters. Indeed, getting men to participate in the research was difficult. In fact, most potential participants did not feel comfortable with being recorded. Hence the use of snowball sampling; I depended mostly on referrals from already interviewed participants who understood that their identity would remain anonymous irrespective of being recorded.

3.6. Data analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the data collected through individual interviews. This method includes grouping data within themes, while also minimally organising and describing the gathered data set in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This method assisted the researcher to identify underlying themes from the data that was generated from the participants. Having conducted the interviews with the 12 participants, I had to transcribe the interviews by listening to

[8] Narrow definition of unemployment refers to people who are unemployed but are actively seeking employment.
[9] Biological father refers to the man whose semen fertilized the ovum which a child was born.
[10] According to the Children's Act of 2005, section 28(3) of the Constitution, any person under the age of 18, unless married or emancipated by order of court is a child.

the recorded interviews. Thereafter, I embarked on the process of identifying recurring themes that were evident in each of the interview transcripts, subsequently grouping them accordingly. This was achieved by reading and re-reading of the transcripts as well as repeatedly listening to the audio recording in order to pick out information that I overlooked initially. From the analysis, five themes and five sub themes emanated.

3.7. Research site

Soweto is a township of the city of Johannesburg in Gauteng, South Africa, bordering the city's mining belt in the south. According to SAHO (2011) the township obtained its name from the first two letters of "South Western Township" which was the original description of the area. The township now falls within the municipality of the Johannesburg Metro Council in the province of Gauteng which appropriately means the place of Gold (SAHO, 2011).

Like Johannesburg, the establishment of Soweto is directly linked to the discovery of Gold in 1885, and was created in the 1930s when the White government started separating Blacks from Whites (Joburg archive, 2008). The economic development of Soweto was severely curtailed by the apartheid state, which provided very limited infrastructure and prevented residents from creating their own businesses. Roads remained unpaved, and many residents had to share one tap between four houses. It is stated that the township was meant to exist only as a dormitory town for black Africans who worked in white houses, factories, and industries. Soweto was not allowed to create employment centres and the majority of residents were forced to commute long distances to work in other parts of the city of Johannesburg. Most commuters today travel the same long route on the popular mini buses, whose drivers are known for their impatient behaviour (SAHO, 2011).

Soweto experienced civil unrest during the Apartheid regime as there were serious riots in 1976, sparked by a ruling that Afrikaans be used in African schools there; the riots were violently suppressed, with 176 striking students killed and more than 1,000 injured (Joburg archive, 2008). Reforms followed, but riots flared up again in 1985 and continued until the first multiracial elections were held in April 1994 (Joburg archive, 2008).Nonetheless post 1994, majority of residents still live in the old "matchbox" houses that were previously built by the apartheid government or the four-roomed houses built as cheap accommodation for the Black migrant workers and their families. Vacant land has attracted a mass of homeless people who tolerate dirty

conditions in iron huts (shacks). The trees and shrubs planted by the City Council in between the suburbs add visual appeal to depressing settlements (SAHO, 2011).

Hostels that were built for single men working on the mines have become a prominent feature on the Soweto landscape; although many have been improved and are home to young couples and families (Moafrikatours, 2014).

To date, Sowetan (2017) estimates Soweto's population to be 1.516 million. From that figure, more than half of the workforce in the area is unemployed with an unemployment rate at 53% (Key results region 6, 2017).

Many parts of Soweto rank among the poorest in Johannesburg, although individual townships tend to have a mix of wealthier and poorer residents. In general, households in the outlying areas to the northwest and southeast have lower incomes, while those in southwestern areas tend to have higher incomes. It remains a predominantly Black city; with a multi-cultural mix of Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Venda and Tsonga inhabitants. Soweto is also home to small communities of Coloured and Asian residents (SAHO, 2011).

3.8. Researchers characteristics

While conducting the interviews with the participants, it was evident that there were factors that influenced the research process; mainly: gender, education and age.

Gender

As a young female growing up in South Africa, I have come to be very cautious with the environments I expose myself to, mainly because of the violence that has been prevalent such as kidnappings, brutal rapes and human trafficking. However, given the topic of interest as per my research study, I had to step out of my comfort zone and expose myself to environments/areas in Soweto that I have never been to, regardless of the fact that I was born and bred in Soweto. Not only did the research study expect me to expose myself to areas in Soweto that I didn't know, but the interviews were conducted in the participants' homes as a result of the recruitment strategy.

In a country where the rate of sexual violence is among the highest in the world averaged to be 71.3 per 100,000 people (Africa Check, 2017), entering the various participants' homes was a

discomforting experience because most participants were strangers, thus making me question my safety; especially because I was often left alone with the participants while I conducted the interviews with them. Furthermore, in my facilitation of the interviews, there was one participant who was slightly younger than me (20 years old) who expressed that he wishes to talk to me off the record after I interview him. Immediately after he said this, the first thing that came to my mind was that he probably wanted to *woo*[11] me, because if he wanted to express his great interest about my academics, he would have had no problem with doing so while he was being recorded. As such, I believe that his behaviour was subjugated by the fact that I essentially am a female and to him it was male instinct; consequently at that point making me the subject of interest. He unfortunately did not get the chance to speak to me after my interview with him, because I immediately had to rush to another interview. (*Tyawa, filed notes, 18 October 2017*).

Education

Based on observation, ultimately being a female that is doing her final year in tertiary was intimidating for participants; because I am a female from Soweto, who is learned while many other females in my age group "Izintanga zami[12]" as they are referred to in Zulu, and younger have become drop outs, pregnant and are at home raising their child/ren or are at home as a result of insufficient funds to pursue their studies. I found that participants were stunned by the fact that I was doing my final year at University when I explained to them why I wanted to interview them and as they read the participation information sheet (Appendix A). Participants were not only stunned by the fact that I was in my final year in University, but they were also stunned by the fact that I am a final year student at one of the highest ranking Universities in Africa: The University of the Witwatersrand.

I especially found that participants who were around my age group were more intimidated because my education deemed me more "knowledgeable" than they were, while also stereotypically the belief being that I was doing well for myself which is more than what they could say for themselves because of their respective circumstances which led them to fit the stipulated criteria for the research study (*Tyawa, Field notes, 18 October 2017*).

[11] Woo refers to the act of trying to gain love (of a woman).
[12] Izintanga zami is the Zulu term for referring to one's peers.

However, this was not the case for some participants. It seemed that the older participants were proud to see a young female taking her education seriously which served as a huge benefit for me because those participants found no qualms in participating in the study because they were helping me with my studies and contributing towards a greater good.

Age

Given the fact that the stipulated ages for the participants ranged between 18-65, I was exposed to men in various age groups. I believe that my age (21) influenced the research process because to most men, I was a child and my research study was a sensitive one, therefore having to ask men who were old enough to be my own father questions that would question their manhood proved to be a challenge and was executed with some difficulty as I didn't want to appear as disrespectful and as though I was disobeying the cultural and societal norm of respecting my elders. For this reason, I believe that age was a contributory factor to some of the interviews that were less than 30 minutes because the men just wanted to get it over and done with.

In addition, having grown up with a father that was both financially and emotionally involved in every aspect of my upbringing, it was fascinating to interview fathers who held different viewpoints regarding their own navigation of fatherhood. Therefore; making me realise that not every child was as fortunate as I was in their upbringing; subsequently illustrating that fathers really do practice fatherhood differently.

3.9. Ethical considerations

3.9.1. Voluntary participation

Participation from individuals was completely voluntary, as no one was coerced into taking part in the research study. In addition, participants were made aware that they could withdraw from the study at no expense of a penalty or consequence (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2007).

3.9.2. Informed consent

Participants were given sufficient and accurate information about the research study, such as the purpose of the study, its nature and procedures involved. This information was clearly depicted in the participant information sheet (Appendix A) that was given to each participant and further

explained to them in a language that they were comfortable with (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2007).

Prior to conducting the interviews with all twelve (12) participants, I introduced myself and explained to the participants what the research study was about. Thereafter I handed them the participation information sheet so that they themselves could read and validate that what I was explaining to them was the same information that was reflected on the participation sheet. I further explained to the participants that agreeing to participate would require them to sign consent forms for both participation and audio taping.

3.9.3. Confidentiality and Anonymity

The principle of anonymity in this study means that the study will not link individual's responses with participant's identities. Confidentiality of information collected from research participants on the other hand means that only the investigator collecting/analysing the data can identify the responses of individual subjects (The City University of New York, 2012). Given the above, participants were informed that they would be given pseudonyms chosen by myself that would emanate on the research report in order to protect and safeguard their identities.

3.9.4. Doing no harm

For the purpose of the study, participants were not subjected to any unnecessary risks of harm (Canterbury Christ Church University, 2007). The researcher is aware that the topic under investigation is sensitive and could evoke emotions of distress. Itwas thus explained to the participants prior to the interviews that they could go to Lifeline (Jabavu Crisis) in Jabavu Soweto for counselling if required. Arrangements were made with the agency and participants were provided with the contact details, contact person's name and the address of the agency through the participant information sheet (Appendix A).

3.10. Conclusion

This above chapter has outlined the process of the research methodology; by illustrating how the chosen research approach and design were appropriate for this particular study, as it sought to explore the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood. The chapter highlighted the other methodological processes that were embarked on such as the chosen research

instrumentation, the process of pretesting, method of data collection, sampling and data analysis. The chapter further highlighted and discussed the researchers experience with the interviews, subsequently drawing on challenges and influences encountered as per the researcher's characteristics. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrated the ethical considerations that the researcher kept in mind and applied throughout the duration of the interviews and the study as a whole.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND THE DISCUSSION

4.1. Introduction

By using thematic analysis to analyse data emanating from the interviews with the 12 participants; five themes were identified. The first theme is fatherhood and the provider role which entails various sub themes: *how unemployment affects fathers' roles in their children's lives, culture, access and interaction, relationships with partners/families and shame and embarrassment.* This theme essentially echoes and speaks to how participants perceive fatherhood to be money even in contexts of unemployment. Furthermore the noted sub themes elicit pivotal findings regarding the issue of fatherhood and unemployment; whilst revealing different dynamics. The second theme is employment equals a change in roles and responsibilities, the third theme is making ends meet, the fourth theme is the lack of education as reason to unemployment today and lastly the fifth theme is the societal pressures on unemployed fathers. In this chapter therefore; the above listed themes will be discussed in great detail, in the hopes of understanding better the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood.

4.2. Fatherhood and the provider role

According to Hoffman (2017), a father's job was to bring home a pay cheque, cut the grass, fix things and tell the children that they were misbehaving. Today, male and female parenting roles are not as clear and distinctive as they were before. In spite of these evolving roles however; fathers still associate greatly associate fatherhood to be an economic role, so much so that even fathers who are unemployed felt the burning need to fulfill and ultimately execute this role. This misconception echoed the extent to which providing has been ingrained in the minds of fathers as a result of their manhood. The following responses by participants echo the above statement.

Sandile is a 27 year old unemployed father to a 7year old daughter. He resides in Senaoane with his daughter and has never worked a day in his life. However, for him being able to financially provide as a father was a requirement. While a study conducted by Hoffman (2017) deduced that fathers are now actively involved in most aspects of child rearing which were previously considered the work of the mother, such as diaper changing, taking children to school, and looking

after them while their partner is at work. This was not the case for Sandile. Although he did not overtly say that fatherhood equals financial provision, he emphasized that it was his responsibility as a father to ensure that the needs of his child are met. He felt that more pressure fell on him as a father to provide for his child than on the mother. This is what he said:

> *"Let's say there's a trip at my daughter school and they want R300.00, that is when the pressure comes in that I must go to town and steal a car and those sort of things" (Interview, Sandile, 23 October 2017).*

Sandile's experiences of fatherhood highlight just how much emphasis and importance has been given to the provider role. His experiences further show the lengths to which he has succumb to which involve him stealing cars in order to fulfill his provider role as expected of him as a father and essentially as a man. The same was true for Donovan; a 28 year old father to three children who resides in Dube. He said:

> *"Obviously taking out money for nursery school for the one and the other it is money for food and clothes, even for the other one you know, paying school fees and stuff (Interview, Donovan,23 October 2017).*

According to Donovan, fatherhood was closely tied to providing because he had to meet the financial needs of his children even though he was unemployed. His employment status did not alter or change his perception about financial provision. Furthermore, it appeared that providing financially for his children was seen as a requirement for Donovan; this is seen in his use of the word "obviously" in the direct quotation above.To him, meeting the financial needs of his child was an obvious and required act. Donovan's response particularly echoed the dominance of the provider role, as well as the social representation of fathers as people who work (Mavungu, 2013). A similar statement was uttered by a participant in Mavungu's (2013) study: "whether you are unemployed or employed, you must provide" specifically showing the association between fatherhood and the provider role.

However, in the case of Floyd, a 24 year old father who resides in Senaoane and is an unemployed father to a 7 year old daughter said:

> *"I got a child when ehh I was still at school. She was born in 2010 and in 2010 I was in grade 11, and I just had one more year to go before I completed my high school studies. So I could say I was faced with difficulties at that point because I had to be able to provide for my child, so that she doesn't need anything and for her to get everything that she needs, thus making her experience different to that of my own. I started making cash at school by selling sweets, chips those things. When I arrived back home from school, I was even able to sell cigarettes ja and those were the things that used to sell and make money quickly" (Interview, Floyd, 23 October 2017).*

Floyd's response revealed the seriousness and heftiness of the father-provider role as he was still in school when his child was born, however he still felt the urge to provide for his child irrespective of the fact that he was unemployed and essentially an adolescent himself. Glickman (2004) states that the inability for an adolescent father to be the breadwinner role has an implication on his sense of self, particularly because of the financial constraint which usually makes young men initially deny responsibility and paternity. However, this was not the case for Floyd who did not shy away from assuming responsibility for what he was suddenly faced with, but instead took it upon himself to find means to fulfill the father-provider role by selling sweets, chips and cigarettes to ensure and guarantee this. Although Floyd did not explicitly state whether the mother of his child was also in school, he did reveal that he didn't have to buy formula milk, neither did he have to buy disposable diapers because the mother of his child breastfed their child and wore the old material nappies which just needed to be washed.

> "*So I would not buy that formula milk, even those pampers; because luckily the mother of my child used to enjoy doing laundry and my child wore the old material nappies and not the disposable diapers; therefore in that regard cutting costs* (*Interview, Floyd,18 October, 2017).*

Such a statement therefore made me believe and conclude that the mother of his child had to assume the nurturing role and stay at home, while Floyd fulfilled his provider role and continued with his studies (*Tyawa, field notes, 19 October 2017).*

In addition, Ngwako a 20 year old unemployed father to a 2 year old son shared the opposite to Floyd's experience, although somewhat similar as a result of their ages. He said:

"G: But surely your son gets everything from your parents in Naturena and they take good care of him.

N: Yes he does, and they do; but the fact is I am not the one that is providing for him and that is the problem, it really bothers me." (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).

Although Ngwako's child's financial needs were met by his parents, he still felt compelled to provide regardless of the fact that he doesn't have the means. His response makes clear that not being able to provide for his son even though he lacks for nothing as he is well taken care of by his parents, is evidently something that bothers him a lot as it deems him as not man enough. Ngwako's response emphasised the perception of fatherhood as strictly being associated to the ability to provide. Further confirming that the provider role still has a vast influence in how fathers measure their success as a father and their masculine identity (Chideya & Williams, 2013).

It is interesting to see how in the year 2017, fatherhood is still perceived by many fathers to be equivalent to money. Participants responses as shown above are a great indication of how fulfilling solely the provider role for their children and families is regarded as an esteemed role which constitutes beinga "good fathers" as similarly stipulated in (Helman, 2015; Ives, 2007). The constant urge and need by fathers to fulfill the provider role made it seem as though providing alone constitutes being a father as opposed to it being a series of multiple actions (Chideya & Williams, 2013).

Contrary to the belief of fatherhood being equated to money as per the responses of fathers reflected above, this was not the case for Jeff, a 39 year old father to a 6 year old daughter and has been unemployed for the past 3 years. He said:

G: "Yes, yes. So when you say support, because I hear that you keep mentioning the word support… What does that specifically entail for you? (Interrupts).

J: support is an umbrella term for many other things, such as running clinic errands, taking the child to school/crèche; I see that as the biggest support and ultimately giving the child love. Because when the child isn't close to his/her father, it tends to be difficult, therefore for me these aspects all fit under the term support" (Interview, Jeff, October 2017).

From the 12 participants, Jeff was the only father who did not reduce and merely equate fatherhood to money. To me, his response promoted the notion fatherhood is a role that is understood and exercised in diverse ways (Morrell, 2005). Although Jeff understands that money is important, he however does not derive fatherhood to be only about money. To him fatherhood is about supporting which encompasses many different aspects that he considers to be equally as important as money. Jeff's response further made evident that him being unemployed has not taken away from his ability and responsibility to fulfill his other fatherly roles.

Subsequent to the above responses, the fact that social construct has created and normalized the duty of providing as a role automatically bestowed unto fathers by virtue of them being men. It is not surprising, that fathers feel the need to have and make money in order for them to maintain and exercise their masculinity (Holmes, 2007).

Peter is a 32 year old unemployed father to a 5 year old son and has never been exposed to the working world. He said:

> *P: Being unemployed sometimes; especially when you are a male/man, it is even more difficult. Ja.*
>
> *G: Why? Why is it more difficult to be unemployed as a man?*
>
> *P: You know when you are a man, a father who resides with a woman, almost everything they look to you and at that time you are not working and your partner is also not working, so eish; life becomes overwhelmingly difficult. Sometimes you even feel that the partner you are living with sometimes loses respect.*
>
> *G: Respect for you?*
>
> *P: Yes, sometimes she even gets irritated and annoyed. Basically it is not okay to be unemployed and have nothing that you earn at the end of the month (Interview, Peter, 23 October 2017).*

Similarly Floyd said:

> *"Because you know when you are an unemployed person, sometimes it get to; uhm; maybe there is a trip at the child's school so they need cash to pay for that trip and she will need*

things like other children, carrying chips, snacks, food as a whole. So if you are an unemployed person, it is rare for you to have money saved you understand that helps in such situations because you must always hustle and make a plan in order to buy bread for the household, toiletries, airtime to call her and paying her transport for school, for her to eat and all those things you see? So being unemployed makes things to lack you understand? There is that lacking to provide things like the above, so I would say that has put pressure on me. Because not being able to do those things; ai you feel bad. You feel like a failure" (Interview, Floyd, 18 October, 2017).

Both responses elicited that fathers come to experience shame and embarrassment when they cannot fulfill their respective duties, especially because their duties are intrinsically linked to their assigned masculinity role in society which upholds a man's ability to provide, making his authority unquestionable. Arguably, it is shown that the standard of being a father is equivalent to mainly the carrying out of the provider role, hence failure to do so suggesting one's failure to being a man (Khunou, 2006).

Furthermore in the exploring the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood, fathers revealed factors that underpinned their understanding of fatherhood as money or a complex role, given that participants each held different views and perceptions. The factors include the effects of unemployment and the inability to provide, culture, access and interaction and relationships with partners/families. Each factor proved to be a very detrimental aspect in the experiences of these unemployed fathers.

How unemployment affects fathers' roles in their children's lives.

According to McLoyd (1998), economic resources are important in enhancing child outcomes; such that greater economic resources enable fathers to purchase the necessary material, goods and services which entail medical aid, higher quality child care or schools, as well as books and toys that improve developmental processes. However, for unemployed fathers' such a role proves to be immensely difficult as a result of insufficient funds to fulfill this role. This was specifically the case for Peter. He said:

"Uhmmm, like you can see right now that I am sitting here with him, and as a father, I also wish that he was at nursery school like at ASHA like other children you see? Like I'd be

doing something for him that will benefit him even when I am not alive anymore (Interview, Peter, 18 October 2017)."

Peter's response reveals the manner in which his son has been affected by his current employment status as he indicates the consequence of his son being at home due to insufficient funds, as opposed to him being at nursery school like other children in order to enrich his mind and development for the betterment of his own future. Furthermore, Peter's response illustrated that his employment status not only affected him as a father, it also affected his role in his child's life as he couldn't make true the most basic service for his child.

Leonard on the other hand shared the following:

"There are things that I cannot do you see? So that my children can get the things that they want, like maybe that I must also be able to give them the best education, not to say that in the location/township the education isn't good, but we all know that the schools in the townships don't focus specifically on a child's needs; so those things. And sometimes they want things and you find that I can't you see? Since I am unemployed and stuff you see? So those are the things that limit me" (Interview, Leonard, 23 October2017).

Unlike Peter's child, Leonard's children are currently in school; however he makes evident that his employment status has somewhat determined for him the schools to which his children go to, as opposed to him being the one to fully and autonomously decide without thinking of circumstances the schools that he wants his children to go to; which essentially are schools that are not necessarily based in the township. His response also shows that his employment status has forced him to settle for sending his children to township schools although he specifically doesn't want to, therefore this restricting his children from getting quality education and broadening their horizon in order to improve their development process. Wilkinson (2015) shows that black children suffer more when it comes to education because the most dysfunctional schools are those in the townships; this statement therefore proving Leonard's belief and hesitation about township schools to be valid.

As much as the above responses by fathers speak to how unemployment has affected their roles in the lives of their children, essentially placing emphasis on education, Ngwako's response idolizes the ability of providing materialistic possessions for his child.

"It affects me in the sense that my child can't even ask me for things. That is not something he can expect you see? He can't even say "ahhh my dad will buy me Christmas clothes etc etc" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).

Taking into consideration that Ngwako's child resides with his parents, and they are fulfilling the provider role for him, it is no doubt that his only consideration is providing materialistic things for his child. This is because Ngwako's son is certainly getting an education, courtesy of his parents. Subsequently, Ngwako's child doesn't ask Ngwako or expect anything from Ngwako because he knows who to ask: His grandparents.

Culture

In African culture, in order for a man to satisfy his girlfriend's family, it is necessary for that man to pay *inhlawulo* Such an act however, is extremely difficult when he is unemployed (Morrell & Ritcher, 2005).For one participant the emphasis of *inhlawulo* has come to undercut and undermine his execution of fatherhood and his involvement in his child's life, given the fact that he is unemployed and is thus unable to achieve such a deliverable.

Donovan expressed that he has since been denied access to his child, due to his inability to pay damages as a result of his current employment status. He said:

"Like this girl that I have a child with, we were no longer together you get me darling, from the time before she even got the baby, we were no longer an item. So I know where she lives but her and I do not communicate, I don't have her number. So when I go to her house, I end up at the gate because I am not even welcomed inside, so I have to shout while I stand at the gate, and when they come out, they tell me that I am not welcomed" (Interview, Donovan, 23 October 2017).

In spite of the fact that Donovan provides for his children as he mentioned earlier, including the one he does not have access to. It is interesting to see how he is still being denied such a right because of his inability to pay damages for him. Morrell and Richter (2005) illustrate that even though a man accepts paternity he is unlikely to be able to afford to pay *inhlawulo*. Although Donovan understands the significance of paying damages for child as he later shows, his current

employment status has made this desire impossible. However; irrespective of this, Donovan continues to feel compelled to provide for this child.

Access and interaction

From the interviews with the fathers, it was revealed that unemployment proved to be a circumstance that affected both resident and non-resident fathers when it came to accessing one's child. Resident fathers refers to fathers who live in the same household as the child, while non-resident fathers were those who did not live in the same household as the child (Minnesota Judges Juvenile Protection Handbook, 2014). Herein, the misconception that unemployed resident fathers had greater access to their children as opposed to unemployed non-resident fathers proved to be false. Out of the 12 fathers that participated in the research process, only three of them were non-resident fathers.

Tladi who is a 43 year old father to two children articulated the following:

> *"T: I don't live with her, she lives at her parents' house. She just reports to me regarding what the children need and want, at school at nursery school. Those things you see?*
>
> *G: So you live alone?*
>
> *S: Yes, I live alone, but when I want her to visit me I tell her that she must come because I have needs" (Interview, Tladi, 23 October 2017).*

While Tladi's response shows that he has every ability and platform to access and interact his children, he simply chooses not to as he deems his financial support to his children as his interaction with them, although he is able to interact with the mother of his children on an intimate level.Therefore his reluctance to accessing and interacting with his children on a social account, channeling the migrant labour system which permitted laborers to see their families at large only on special occasions while they sent money back home on a frequent basis (Brock, 1972).

Ngwako on the other hand revealed that access and interaction with his son was controlled and determined by his pockets irrespective of the fact that his son resided with his parents in Naturena. He said:

> *"G: So in a week, how often do you see him?*

N: "In a week?" Okay let me see… Okay eish sister let's not count weeks.

G: Okay, do you see him weekends? I just want to establish when you see him.

N: Oh, I usually see him weekends, but not every weekend.

G: Why?

N: Eish sister, money to go to Naturena… So I only go when I can afford to go and when I have that little money" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).

Ngwako's response depicts that although he is not necessarily denied access to his child because he is unemployed; his lack of money because he is unemployed is in essence what restricts and deprives him from seeing and interacting with his child.

Relationships with partners and families

Scholars (Morrell & Richter, 2006; Selebano, 2012) have shown that the failure of fathers to fulfill the economic provider role may cause tension among the parents, as well as between the paternal and maternal families of the children. The fathers interviewed in this study further reinforced the notion of tension in relationships, as one of the many consequence associated with unemployment and their inability to provide economically. This similarity therefore made apparent that such an experience of conflict in relationships and family system was not an experience unique to only these interviewed fathers.

Jeff a 38 year old father shared the following:

"You see when my contract ended and I wasn't working anymore, that caused problems between my wife and I as we were unable to communicate with each other effectively and I couldn't support her anymore" (Interview, Jeff, 18 October 2017).

According to Rosenberg and Wilcox (2006) fathers who are employed full-time express more happiness with family life and have better relationships with their children, compared to fathers who are underemployed or unemployed. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jeff and his wife encountered marital strains and conflict when Jeff's contracted ended; merely because Jeff was for

the longest time able to support and provide for his wife therefore, a change in this as a result of his sudden unemployment challenged their comfortable lifestyle.

Unlike Jeff, Ngwako's relationship came to a complete halt. He shared:

> *"N: Eish sister, the mother of my child is still in school, she is in high school doing grade 11.*
>
> *G: Oh okay, and do you guys have a good relationship?*
>
> *N: Eish no. It just didn't work out" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).*

While it is plausible that Ngwako's relationship with the mother of his child was due to him being unemployed, it is important to recognise that problems in their relationship could have been caused by the fact that they themselves were young when their child was born; additionally adding to the already existing stress of unemployment.

For Sandile the following was true. He said:

> *"I had to engage in crime because there was n*
>
> *o one working at home at the time, I was living with the mother of my child before things ended, we even got married, so to maintain that lifestyle was difficult because all was on me and the more court cases piled up" (Interview, Sandile, 23 October 2017).*

Sandile's case was different in the sense that although he was providing for his extended and nuclear family, the manner in which he acquired the money to do so brought forth great difficulties for his marriage as he was in and out of jail; thus his wife eventually walking out on him.

In contrast to the above, Floyd shared how his employment status has affected his relationship with his parents. He said:

> "*As a father, I would want at some point to do something because I also have parents that brought me into this earth, so I would also want to do something for my parents so that they can see that I am a grown man, and I am now working as they know and expect. As they are expecting even a cold drink. So it is very painful" (Interview, Floyd, 18 October, 2017).*

Herein, Floyd's response reveals that unemployment has not only affected him as a father, but it has also affected and challenged his existence as a man in general; because he to this day has not been able to give back or do for his parents as he would've wanted. This therefore demonstrating how providing is closely linked to masculine identity.

Shame and embarrassment

Burton (2014) defines embarrassment as the feeling of discomfort experienced when some aspects of ourselves is, or threatens to be witnessed or revealed to others and the revelation is likely to undermine the image of ourselves. Therefore, it is not surprising that the inability of fathers to provide financially in a context that deems the provider role as precedence reduced fathers to nothing but shame and embarrassment (Mkhize, 2006).

Leonard elicited the following:

> *"G: So when they ask you for things like "dad this, dad that" what do you say to them? Do they understand?*
>
> *L: I explain to them that I can't, it's difficult but jaaa they try and understand; but you know how children are, they get upset and sulk, but you can see and feel their disappointment. But I just hang in there because they can also see how the situation is here at home. Sometimes they understand, and sometimes they don't. So those are the things that I am faced with" (Interview, Leonard, 23 October 2017).*

Leonard's response illustrated that interaction with his children is sometimes difficult, especially when his children do not get their way with him, giving them cause and reason to sulk, in order to get him to feel guilty. Moreover,Leonard's response suggests that his children might see him like a failure further causing them to resent him because he is not always able to do the things that they want him to do.

For Ngwako:

> *"G: So right now you do not feel like you are in the real fatherhood?*
>
> *N: Ja, no I don't. Not when I am still buying him a lollipop sister. It is nothing and it's not good enough" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).*

From Ngwako's response, it became clear that purchasing a lollipop for his son is an act which he deems as futile, although children are always appreciative of the smallest of things. His response shows just how embarrassing it is for him to know that buying his son is the only thing that he can equate as providing at this point, due to his current employment status.

While fathers' responses above have elicited the manner in which shame and embarrassment has manifested itself through the inability to fulfill the provider role. In Sandile's case, fulfilling some aspects of a nurturer reduced him to shame and embarrassment. He said:

> *"G: So there's not that thing that if you're doing this, you feel less of a man?*
>
> *S: There is. There is.*
>
> *G: When you're doing what?*
>
> *S: Obvious you see when I bath her, I need to wash her underwear, sometimes she doesn't wipe herself properly after she uses the toilet, after she pees etc. and I need to assist her with that. But at the end of the day she's my child what can I say" (Interview, Sandile, 23 October 2017).*

Sandile's response made clear that fulfilling the role of a nurturer is difficult as some aspects entail embarrassing tasks as he has stipulated thus bringing him shame and making him feel less of a man. Furthermore, his response defies the notion of the changing roles of fatherhood as noted by (Lesejane, 2006), as he makes evident that emotional support by fathers is still greatly frowned upon. Based on observation, Sandile found it difficult to share this particular experience with me. This was revealed the sudden change of the tone in his voice as he quickly answered the question, therefore illustrating to me his embarrassment with this role and his own discomfort irrespective of the fact he fulfills this nurturing role anyway (*Tyawa, field notes, 23 October 2017).*

Ramphele (2002) denotes that the fathers feel failure and shame when they cannot support their children, subsequently causing them to avoid being involved with their children. However, in the above responses by fathers, the very opposite proved to be true. This is because although fathers were reduced to shame and embarrassment by not being able to fulfill the provider role, their undying urge to remain an inherent part of their lives was admirable.

4.3. Employment equals a change in roles and responsibilities

For participants, the general perception was that securingemployment would ensure a change in various aspects, but more especially the roles and the responsibilities. Christiansen & Palkovitz (2001) argue that economic provision for a child and family needs is the foundation on which many fathers build their involvement in family life and that in turn is integrated with many other forms of father involvement.

For Donovan, the following emanated:

> *"D: Yes they would be different you know*
>
> *G: How?*
>
> *D: At least I would be able to budget money for a certain period and eventually pay damages for my child, you get me darling" (Interview, Donovan, 23 October 2017).*

Donovan's response showed that securing employment would finally grant him the opportunity to pay damages for his child which is something he is not currently able to do as a result of his current employment status. Furthermore, it became clear from his response that he hasn't necessarily given up hope of gaining access to his child as his response shows his active intent and determination of wanting to pay this debt.

Ngwako on the other hand also shows that his roles and responsibilities would change in this regard. He said:

> *"N: Ja they wouldn't be the same as now*
>
> *G: How?*
>
> *N: Because I would be able to provide more than I can provide for him right now. I would go with him to the mall you see, at least buy him 2-3 attires, not this thing of always walking with him down the street and buying him lollipops" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October 2017).*

Ngwako's response depicted that his current employment status doesn't allow him to provide for his son in the manner that he wishes, as he previously mentioned earlier that purchasing lollipops for his son was to him not an act of providing. As such, his response suggests that his ability to

secure employment would enable him to take his child to the mall and buy him clothes, which is something that he hasn't yet been able to do personally.

Similarly, Leonard shared:

> *"Yes, I would that they would be different because I would be able to do everything that they want, things that they need mfethu you see? I would do what they want, in the manner that they want, school wise, clothing, basically anything" (Interview, Leonard, 19 October, 2017).*

For Leonard, a change in roles and responsibility as per employment would too allow him to fully exercise his provider role as he would be able to splurge on his children as much as he wants, as well as be granted the opportunity to send his children to schools that are not in the townships as he had previously mentioned that his inability to send his children to schools that are outside Soweto is as a result of his current employment status. Furthermore, his use of "basically anything" in his response shows how life changing employment would be for Leonard and his children.

Subsequent to the above, Floyd demonstrated that securing employment would also change his roles and responsibilities, although it took him quite some time to overtly say it as he first brought up the dynamics of being employed.

> *"F: I think roles and responsibilities are always the same whether you are unemployed or employed. So I could say that being employed has an advantage but also a disadvantage.*
>
> *G: Advantage?*
>
> *F: Advantage when you are working, okay you get money and then if you get money you get to pay for everything in time I can say you understand? You get to pay school fees in time, you get to pay transport in time, and you get to do groceries in time you understand? You get to pay accounts in time you see? So working disadvantage is that when you go to work you use mostly and there is traffic you understand, it stresses you and causes you trouble at the workplace, then the stress from the workplace, now you are at home, you can't even communicate properly with your children anymore due to stress from work. It is traffic on the one side; maybe transport money is also stressing you. There are just a lot of problems that arise*

G: So being unemployed is an advantage but you can't provide like an employed father can?

F: Yes" (Interview, Floyd, 18 October 2017).

For Floyd securing employment would enable him to do much more than he can for his daughter currently. Evidently showing that if fathers were given the option to choose between staying unemployed and securing employment, they would opt for employment.

Moreover, he alludes to dynamics that come with the world work. Floyd demonstrates that he would have many aspects to consider about the job and whether the job on its own would in any way affect the way he has been fulfilling his fatherhood role as an unemployed father. His revelation of such a dynamic was embedded on the fact that he has been exposed to retail before and experienced exploitation of working long hours, thus affecting how much time he spent with his child. According to Palkovitz, Christensen & Dunn (1998) several forms of work organizational supports have been identified as necessary to facilitate and ensure work/family balance for fathers. These include: family responsibility leave, supportive supervisors and co-workers, work time flexibility, work-place flexibility. However, these identified organizational supports are not all relevant in retail jobs, the same way they are in corporate.

Notwithstanding the many disadvantages unemployment brings to fathers and the practice of fatherhood, it is interesting to see how unemployment has encouraged and somewhat coerced some fathers into fulfilling the social roles of fatherhood that they wouldn't have otherwise fulfilled had they been employed. These include bathing their children, washing their laundry, helping them with homework and ultimately spending time with them. Hoffman (2017) suggests that having an involved father, whether primary caregiver or not contributes to mutual support between mothers and fathers; consequently highlighting the importance of a fathers social role (Hoffman, 2017).

4.4. Making ends meet

Fatherhood has been known to come with great pressures and expectations which unemployed fathers aren't excluded from (Mncayi, 2016). In the exploration of the father's experiences, participants came to reveal that they too, irrespective of their employment status fulfill the

breadwinner role. Although unemployed, the fathers felt the strong need to accumulate an income as means to retain their masculinity, and subsequently as strategy for survival.

In the case of Leonard, he said the following:

> *"Ehh, like through… uhm as you can see that I live in the house and I have tenants that are renting the rooms outside, so that money that I get from them is how I make an income, so I can support my children, so that we can also eat here at home and further have clothing. Ja that's it" (Interview, Leonard, 23 October 2017)"*

Leonard is the perfect case of a father who doesn't necessarily go out into the world and engage in precarious work to make a living and sustain his family, however he is a father who has come to see an opportunity in his own yard and reap its benefits showing that providing is not restricted to formal employment neither is it denoted by precarious work.

On the other hand, the opposite was true for Mandla, a 53 year old unemployed father to 5 children. He said:

> *"Me; because I am a person that knows, how to fix things. I can fix and repair shoes, I can build, I can insert tiles and then with that small money, I can manage and make sure that my children go to bed on a full stomach, go to school clothed you see? Ja" (Interview, Mandla, 23 October, 2017).*

Mandla's response highlights the fact that he has like many other fathers that were participants in this study, engage in precarious work in order to make ends meet for their families and for themselves. His response reveals that his financial security is on the hands of the clients that he gets daily or monthly, showing that his financial security is hand to mouth. While Mandla's income generation lies in the hands and is determined by the masses, the following responses make evident the opposite and mirror fathers who have taken matters into their own hands.

Contrary to the above legal means of making ends meet, Sandile shared the following:

> *"S: But I am unemployed, so I only get money here and there*
>
> *G: When you get this money, how do you get it?*

S: I steal cars.

G: Okay, so you only steal cars, or there are other things that you do maybe to bring in that little income?

S: There is nothing else that I do, except steal cars

G: And that brings you income… So how often do you steal a car?

S: I'd say almost every day" (Interview, Sandile, 23 October 2017).

The above was also similar in the case of Arnold, a 41 year old father to three children. He said:

A: In life, I have never worked; I am even used to living like this.

G: Are you looking or?

A: Where will they hire me suster?

G: You don't know, there jobs here and there.

A: I have records suster, you see I used to make crime to hustle and steal cars you see. So I used to steal cars and getting arrested you see suster?

G: Oh. So you have that history…

A: Ja, I've got, I've got that records, you see.

G: Is that how you used to hustle? Through crime?

A: Yes I used to hustle like that, but you see now… I have toned down a bit; I just sell zol (Marijuanna). It is just that now I am afraid of leaving my children and getting locked up and having them to experience that. So I am avoiding that. I sell zol Gugu… Don't they tell you? They know, and I don't hide it" (Interview, Arnold, 18 October 2017).

Sandile and Arnold are fathers who have succumb to illegal acts in order to make a living and survive on it. They have both been previously locked up and are now faced with the repercussions of having criminal records due to their immoral acts. These participants' responses and experiences

however, came to show the reality of how some unemployed individuals do not choose to be unemployed, but that there are factors that have made employability nothing but a dream.

4.5. The lack of education as reason for unemployment today

According to Isakova and Nazarbekova (2011) the lack of access to education and poor knowledge, are said to be the main factors influencing unemployment. Similar to the above statement, Fathers echoed their experiences as follows.

Arnold said:

> "*A: I would personally say that education wasn't something that I took seriously. So I can say that I was very playful, I really don't have a specific reason why, but I just always encourage my children not to be like me. I constantly encourage them to study and work hard so that they can pass at school and be okay in life; so that they can get jobs, get married and build their own houses, as those have been the things I have been unable to so since I am unemployed. So I raise them in such a way that they don't go through and experience what I went through"*
>
> *G: How far did you get with your education?*
>
> *A: I would say that I ended in (Grade 9)." (Interview, Arnold, 18 October 2017).*

Arnold's response indicates that his drive and continuous reiteration about education to his children is because he doesn't want them to end up unemployed like him, neither does he want them to repeat his mistakes.

For Sandile:

> *"S: In life, there are those people like you.*
>
> *G: What do you mean like me?*
>
> *S: Those people who are privileged enough to go to school, have funds and stuff. I'm not judging just saying, and then there are people like me who are bound to doing crime.*
>
> *G: But you could go back to school?*

S: Where? And do what Gugu?

G: Further your studies?

S: Eish I dropped out in grade 7" (Interview, Sandile, 23 October 2017).

From Sandile's response, it became clear that he had never considered the option of going back to school; neither did he know where he could begin with this process. His response further showed he has deduced that crime is all he knows, indicating that his lack of legally accepted skills and education.

However this was not the case for Floyd. He said:

> "*When I arrived in Johannesburg, I was a person that had completed school and someone who knew what they wanted to do with their life, such that I knew I had to further my education, get a diploma, degree or high certificate; but what disturbed me was the fact that there was no money that would help me further my studies" (Interview, Floyd, 18 October 2017).*

While Floyd had a child in grade 11, he still managed to get through his high school career, However, in spite of these victories, the lack of funding was a challenge that hindered him from continuing with his studies irrespective of the fact that he passed matric; as a result, unemployment being the consequence of this lack.

4.6. Societal pressures on unemployed fathers

The pressure for unemployed fathers to father their children in the same manner as employed fathers;was revealed to be a subtle point that fathers kept referring and alluding to. With expectations from society and family, this pressure proved to be a stumbling block in the lives of the fathers, as it too left the fathers emasculated, reducing them to nothing but shame and embarrassment at the thought of them not being able to execute the breadwinner role. A common aspect among the fathers was how the put pressure on themselves, due to the pressures that their families and society puts on them.

This was specifically true for Ngwako:

"*N: As an unemployed father I should put pressure on myself.*

G: Why?

N: Because I want my child to grow up well, even though I am unemployed, I still want to provide for him as if I was employed.

G: So it isn't pressure that you perhaps get from other people?

N: It is also pressure that I get from other people, and then I also end up putting pressure on myself that I need to do this, like even if I am unemployed, I must still provide for him and I will do that for him.

G: But who are these people that are putting pressure on you?

N: Ahh, it is people in the streets, people that we see every day, like our neighbours, like how other people are doing things because they are employed fathers" (Interview, Ngwako, 18 October, 2017).

Contrary to the above responses, pressure from society and family was not something all fathers succumbed to. For example, although Floyd admitted that not being able to provide financially for his daughter and family in the manner that he wishes to makes him feel like a failure; he stood by the following:

"I am not a person who is taking a lot from society; I am not a person that is making decisions due to what other people think. I actually make the decision through myself ja. Based on how I feel and how does it affect me. I don't really care much about the society" (Interview, Floyd, 18 October 2017).

Although Floyd stood firm to his word, based on my interaction with him and the responses he made throughout the duration of the interview process, society does play a role in his decision making because he is essentially a father and much is expected of him as a father given society's social constructs *(Tyawa, field notes, 23 October 2017).*

Seemingly Peter also shared the same sentiments as Floyd. He said:

"I am not putting pressure on myself, according to me; I tell myself that life will get better you see, and maybe one day I will find employment and maybe one day I'll make my own business you get me? Because I believe in business because it sustains you and helps with survival you see? So I won't say that I have thrown in the towel" (Interview, Peter, 18 October 2017).

From the above, it is shown that although fathers are affected by the same circumstance, come to maintain different viewpoints about their shared struggle. This therefore echoed the belief of not putting fathers in the same box as they are all different therefore will essentially experience fatherhood in different ways.

4.7. Conclusion

This chapter showed that like any other fathers, unemployed fathers regard fatherhood to be equivalent to the provider role, thus the inability to do so undermining the execution of fatherhood. The chapter showed the factors that are inherently affected as a result of a fathers' inability to provide economically for both his children and his family, these factors included how unemployment affects fathers' roles in the lives of their children, culture, access and interaction, relationships with partners/families and shame and embarrassment. The discussion of these sub-themes therefore revealed how unemployment has come to affect fathers irrespective of their ages; proving that the phenomena of unemployment is one that simply doesn't choose.

Employment was revealed to be a theme that would facilitate and guarantee the change in roles and responsibilities; as such an opportunity would give fathers access into fully exercising their economic provider role which most fathers in this research process elicited to be the number one priority. Moreover, it is in this theme that it became evident that some fathers deemed employment to be their gateway into being good fathers, while some expressed the opposite as a result of them being able to execute the provider role irrespective of the fact that they are unemployed.

The chapter also looked at how participants are currently making ends meet in order to fulfill their provider role and sustain their families. The discussion of this theme helped elicit the many ways in which the fathers make ends meet; ranging from precarious work, proprietor and even crime in order to fulfill their roles as providers to their children and families. Education was another theme that was discussed in this theme as fathers represented that lack of funding, and the lack of

education as a whole was the root cause for them being unemployed today. Finally the chapter looked at the societal pressures on unemployed fathers, and effects thereof. Again, opposite views were held thus reinforcing the notion of different masculinities.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

While fatherhood proves to be a growing focus of many scholars, there is still very little known about the experiences of unemployed fathers. Most studies have focused on the effects fatherhood has on children as opposed to understanding fatherhood from the fathers' experiences.

The expectations demanded from fathers both culturally and socially, have pushed fathers in this study into engaging in acts that aren't prestigious in order to fulfill and account for the primary role that a father is particularly known for: the breadwinner/the provider role. However, in a country where the unemployment rate is currently recorded to be 27.7%, achieving this role alone proves to be immensely difficult.

The primary aim of this study was to explore the experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation of fatherhood, by understanding the meanings they attach to fatherhood, the challenges they encounter on a daily basis, the roles and responsibilities they assume and the effect their employment status has had in raising their children, especially in a context where fatherhood is mostly understood to be equivalent to money. The researcher adopted the ecosystems approach and Connell's theory of masculinities to explore the experiences of the unemployed fathers.

The literature review concentrated on different theoretical footings of masculinities and gender thus illustrating how the two are social constructs of society. The chapter also made evident how expectations from society and African cultures has come to be the cause for the many behaviors that are adopted by men, such as denying paternity and father absence as opposed to men assuming their responsibility as fathers. Furthermore, the chapter illustrated how social constructs have evidently hindered and created barriers to how fathers exercise their fatherhood role, subsequently affecting and compromising the many other roles fathers can play in their children's and families lives. These barriers were illustrated to be rooted in the cultural, political, economic and historical influences of what it means to be a father.

The methodology chapter demonstrated the use of the qualitative approach and design to to the research, as it enabled the researcher the platform to study and explore the experiences of unemployed fathers in the various townships of Soweto. Participants were recruited through the use of purposive and snowball sampling and the researcher accounted for the manner in which both sampling methods affected the study.

A description of the research site was given in order to contextualise the research study, as well as to provide insight to the backgrounds of the participants, given the fact that they all hailed from different townships in Soweto. A reflection of the interview process and challenges encountered by the researcher as a result of researcher characteristics were also accounted for in this chapter; showing how the researcher's gender, education and age influenced the interviews with the participants. Thematic analysis as the adopted method for analysis was used to analyse the data collected and the pretest process was reflected on, as this method was beneficial in depicting the meanings fathers' attach to their different experiences. Furthermore, the chapter looked into the ethical considerations that were upheld throughout the research process with the unemployed fathers.

Chapter four reflected and discussed the research findings, showing that fathers essentially equated fatherhood with money, whether they were resident fathers or not. Fathers also shed some light on how unemployment has affected various aspects in their lives such as their relationships with their children, wives and girlfriends.
The fatherhood role was shown to have a very detrimental impact both in the lives of the fathers and their families. It was interesting to see how the fathers put themselves last as they amplified the importance of providing for their children and families as priority. Furthermore, it was fascinating to see how some fathers normalized women being unemployed while they saw their employment status as shame and embarrassment leading them to put pressure on themselves, while others reflected that they are pressured by their respective families and society. Fathers also elicited the different ways they made ends meet for the families and children in order to execute the provider role, as well as to retain their stature and sense of dignity. These different ways ranged from precarious work to crime.

For many fathers, the fact that there were graduates who were unemployed proved to be a factor that hindered them from enthusiastically seeking employment. Furthermore, fathers revealed that

criminal records were another factor that hindered and obstructed them from seeking employment, therefore fueling them to continue engaging in crime. Moreover, it was further revealed that some of the unemployed fathers considered and deemed their precarious work as formal employment.

From the interviews with the fathers, it became evident that their employment status was also influenced by their educational backgrounds. Most fathers were drop outs, while some didn't pass matric. For some, the reality of lack of funds, predicted their reality in precarious work.

5.2. Recommendations

5.2.1. Empowerment and educational programmes for unemployed fathers

From a Social Work perspective, empowerment and educational programmes in Soweto are a specific need. This is because fathers reflected that fatherhood was to them equivalent to money; therefore neglecting and forgetting other fatherhood roles, which they perceived as demeaning their masculinity. Such a programme therefore, would educate unemployed fathers about the importance of other fatherhood roles. Ultimately enabling them to execute these roles without feeling shame and embarrassment.

5.2.2. Reintegration into society & employment system

The research findings elicited that there were fathers who could not find work because of criminal records. Those men thus continued to engage in criminal acts because they did not see another alternative. As a result, a key recommendation would be that a strategy be put in place by the judicial system to help better integrate those individuals with criminal records and afford them an opportunity to redeem themselves both in society and in the working world.

5.2.3. Advocacy

Although research on fathers has been a growing interest for many scholars, fathers still suffer the convictions of society regarding their masculinities and lack thereof. This research proved that society's social construct of masculinity and what it is to be a man has come to obscure the capabilities of many fathers, as well as their involvement in their children's lives. The advocacy for unemployed fathers in both society and media regarding the constantly changing roles of fatherhood would be of great importance. This is because society will inherently come to

understand that fatherhood is not necessarily equivalent to money. Therefore recognizing and normalizing the many other roles fathers can fulfill, whether unemployed or employed.

Social workers would have to tackle this at the grass root level in order to break the dogmas held by social construct regarding fatherhood. In eliminating these dogmas and popular beliefs, advocacy by social workers would have to take place at institutional levels which include the church, chiefs of villages and communities and at large society as these are the institutions that perpetuate fatherhood as money.

5.3.4. Capital on valid business ventures by the government (Grant of some sort)

Unemployed fathers revealed that they were interested in growing their already existing small businesses, while some expressed that they would much rather start up their own businesses. Therefore, capital/grant by the department of small business development for valid business ventures could be a strategy put in place to assist fathers in terms of funding in the beginning stages of it all, ultimately promoting entrepreneurship while also providing employment for others. However criteria's and conditions would have to be put in place in order to safeguard the process of it all.

5.3.5. Emphasis on skill development programmes

A lack of education was a contributory factor to participants being unemployed. Thus, a need for great emphasis on educational (Abbet) and skills development programmes is necessary; such programmes do already exist but are however not given much emphasis or recognized as important by many people in communities and evidently society as a whole. Therefore the ability to do this will enable these fathers and other fathers in similar predicaments to re-polish, fine tune and further their studies, while they are also taught skills that will help them find and secure jobs. Furthermore, participation of fathers in such programmes will also lead to their empowerment.

5.3.6. Research

Research in this topic is needed, because communities, society, country and the world at large need to be made aware about the new face of fatherhood in order to disenable the constructed belief that fatherhood is merely money.

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APPENDIX A

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

Good day,

My name is Gugulethu Tyawa and I am currently in my final year of studying Social Work at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree, I am conducting research regarding experiences of unemployed fathers with fatherhood in Soweto. Therefore, it is hoped that with the information gathered, this research will add value to the growing literature about fatherhood. Moreover, it is possible that this study could inform both knowledge and practice of Social Work regarding services and facilities available to unemployed fathers.

As a member of Soweto and a member compromising of the relevant characteristics of the proposed research study, you ideally positioned to contribute to my research. I therefore invite wish to invite you to participate in my study. If you accept my invitation, your participation would be entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time without penalty. There are no consequences or personal benefits of participating in this study. Therefore, if you agree to take part, I would arrange to interview you at a time and place that is suitable for you. The interview will last approximately one hour. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time and you may also refuse to answer questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering. If you decide to participate, I will ask your permission to tape record the interview. No-one other than the researcher and the supervisor will have access to these tapes. Furthermore, the tapes will be kept in a password locked file on my laptop for the two years following any publications or for six years if no publication emanate from the study. A copy of your interview transcript without any identifying information will be stored permanently in a locked cupboard and may be used for future research.

The interview will include sensitive issues; there is the possibility that you may experience some feelings of emotional distress. Should you therefore feel the need for supportive counselling

following the interview, I have arranged for this service to be provided free of charge by Lifline (Jabavu Crisis) in Jabavu, Soweto. The contact person is Ms. Tami Moticoe who can be contacted on (011) 930 2180.

Please be assured that your name and personal details will be kept confidential and no identifying information will be included in the final research report. The results of the research may also be used for academic purposes (including books, journals and conference proceedings) and a summary of findings will be made available to participants on request.

- Please contact me on 083 614 9781 or gugulethu.tyawa2@gmail.com, or my supervisor, Ms. Naledi Selebano on 078 022 7548 or np.selebano@gmail.com if you have any questions regarding my study. We shall answer them to the best of our ability. If you have any concerns and conmplaints about the study, please contact **Human Research Ethics Committee (Non-Medical) Contact details**: Chairperson: Jasper.Knight@wits.ac.za or the administrator: Mrs Lucille Mooragan, Tel: (011) 717 1408 or Lucille.Mooragan@wits.ac.za.

Thank you for taking time to consider participating in the study.

Yours Sincerely,

Gugulethu Tyawa

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

I hereby consent to participate in the research study. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me.

I understand that:

- My participation in this study is voluntary and I may withdraw from the study without being disadvantaged in any way.
- I may choose not to answer any specific questions asked if I do not wish to do so.
- There are no foreseeable benefits or particular risks associated with the participation in this study.
- My identity will be kept strictly confidential and information that may identify me will be removed from the interview transcript.
- A copy of my interview transcript without any identifying information will be stored permanently in a locked cupboard and may be used for future research.
- I understand that my responses will be used in the write up of an honours project and may also be presented in conferences, books or journal articles.

Name of Participant: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX C

CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING INTERVIEW

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION O FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

I hereby consent to tape recording of the interview.

I understand that:

- The recording will be stored in a secure location (a password protected laptop) with restricted access to the researcher and the research supervisor.
- The recording will be transcribed and any information that could identify me will be removed.
- When the data analysis and write up of the research study is complete, the audio-recording of the interview will be kept for two years following any publications or six years if no publication emanate from the study.
- The transcript with all identifying information directly linked to me removed, will be stored permanently and may be used for future research.
- Direct quotes from my interview, without any information that could identify me may be cited in the research report or the write ups of the research.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX D

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

NAME: _____

AGE: _____

LOCATION: _____

ETHNICITY: _____

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:
(Please tick where applicable)

PRIMARY	GRADE 12	TERTIARY

MARITAL STATUS:
(Please tick where applicable)

SINGLE	MARRIED	DIVORCED	WIDOWED

NUMBER OF CHILDREN: _____

APPENDIX E

INTERVIEW GUIDE

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

1. What does fatherhood mean to you?
2. What factors have influenced your understanding of fatherhood?
3. Has your employment status affected how you view yourself as a father?
4. What are your roles and responsibilities in raising your children as an unemployed father?
5. Do you think your role and responsibilities would be any different if you were employed?
6. What would being employed mean to you as a father?

APPENDIX F

ETHICAL CLEARANCE

FATHERHOOD AND MONEY: THE EXPERIENCES OF UNEMPLOYED FATHERS AND THEIR NAVIGATION OF FATHERHOOD IN SOWETO.

SOCIAL WORK
THE SCHOOL OF HUMAN AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT (SHCD)

DEPARTMENTAL HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SOCIAL WORK) CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: SW1/17/06/04

PROJECT TITLE: Fatherhood and Money: The experiences of unemployed fathers and their navigation with fatherhood in Soweto

RESEARCHER/S: Tyuwa, Gugulethu (833347)

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT: SHCD Social Work

DATE CONSIDERED: 30th June 2017

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE: Approved

EXPIRY DATE: 25 July 2019

DATE: 24 July 2017

CHAIRPERSON: Dr. F. Masson

Cc: Supervisor: Ms N. Selebano

DECLARATION OF RESEARCHER(S)

To be completed in **DUPLICATE** and **ONE COPY** returned to the Administrative Assistant, Room 8, Department of Social Work, Umthombo Building Basement.

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorised to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the committee. **For Masters and PhD an annual progress report is required.**

SIGNATURE

24 / 07 / 17
DATE

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES